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ABSTRACT

An ethnographic study in an urban high school in California examines the ways in which immigrant students adapt in a community that is becoming increasingly multicultural. Individual biographies explored the shaping of self and each other for 10 female students and 5 teachers. Interviews and day to day observations were used to gain a picture of the school. The story of the high school is really the story of three seemingly different worlds, represented by recent immigrants (English-as-a-Second-Language students), the other students, and the faculty and administration. The division of the school community into these three groups is brought about by the marginalization and separation of immigrant students academically, the requirement that they become English-speaking and drop their native languages in order to participate in the academic and social life of the school, and the insistent pressure to find and take a place in the racial hierarchy of the United States. The grim reality is that those students who do not speak English well are tracked, separated, provided with inadequate instruction and instructional materials, and denied access to core content areas. There are no simple solutions to these obstacles. (SLD)

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From Nation to Race: The Americanization of Immigrants in a High School of the 1990s

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by Laurie Olsen

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INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW:

This paper is based upon an ethnographic study of Madison High School, an urban high school in a California community being changed by immigration. The community which this school serves has become increasingly multicultural, as a major immigration wave has brought people from all parts of the world to reside there. Amidst rapid demographic and economic change, the city officially prides itself on its growing diversity. The school district has boasted innovations in the school program to accommodate the shifting student population and extols the virtues of diversity while continuing to reproduce a stratified racial and language hierarchy and a narrow mono-cultural model of America. Students (immigrant and U.S. born) and their teachers live out a complex dance in which the contemporary version of the Americanization of immigrants takes place. It is a process in which immigrants learn to give up their national identities and mother tongues to become American, and face the additional requirement of conforming to American racial categories, learning to take their place in the racial schema of the social and academic life of the school. The study examines the ways in which newcomers concur, resist and struggle to find their way amidst these patterns.

Despite mandates from above, the majority of the school faculty and administration at Madison fights against making programmatic accommodations to the needs of immigrant students, with the exception of a small group of young faculty members more recently hired to provide the bilingual and sheltered content instruction required by law to serve limited English speaking students. These young teachers seek to "shelter" their newcomer students, and attempt to advocate for more responsiveness to their needs among the school as a whole. The result is a program that is separate, marginalized and unable to adequately address the barriers to access.

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The problem explored by the study is how a narrow mono-cultural model of "American"-ness -- as English-speaking and white skinned -- is produced and persists in this high school context, despite the impulses of resistance on the part of some students and teachers, despite the challenge to that model presented by the existence of a richly diverse student population, and despite the creation of some programs and spaces that support a multi-culture. How is it that the product of daily life in school contains and limits these alternatives?

Two and a half years of ethnographic research were spent probing this seeming paradox. The ethnographic approach included four major field research strategies:

1. Identifying the "culture makers" who articulate the major ideology in the local community, and at the school site.

Methods included tracking whether and how a wider ideological context entered into the dimensions of local culture, particularly ideology reflecting the state and national debates over diversity, multiculturalism, race and language. Interviews, observation, participation in meetings, reading local media and the school-site press, and documenting public meetings and events all contributed to this task.

2. Individual Biographies:

Individual biographies probed the shaping of self and other for a group of ten female students and five teachers. Each was interviewed at length at various points in the research (from a minimum of three times to a maximum of seven), and I focused my observations and "hanging-out" time around the girls, shadowing them throughout their day, sitting in classes with them, and spending time with them and their friends at school. Also, in addition to formal interviews with the four teachers, I spent time observing their classes, more informally hanging out with them just talking, and conducting more formal whole day sessions exploring particular themes or questions that were emerging in my research. They were in many ways my colleagues and friends in attempting to unravel and understand issues of diversity in their school.

3. Documenting the formal and informal educational program:

This involved examining processes and mechanisms of decision making; language policy; student grouping, promotions, discipline; reward systems; curriculum content; and the placement of students and enrollment in specific gatekeeping courses.

4. Social Maps:

Relationships among different groups of students with varying stances and "places" in the social, cultural, racial, linguistic mapping of the school were analyzed as a key ethnographic strategy for this research. This included a physical mapping and social mapping process of the formal and constructed groups, and of the informal and chosen groups in the school. This was accomplished through interviews, observation, analysis of yearbooks and documents. In addition, students in four social studies classes worked on a three week unit constructing their own social maps of the school. The material from their maps informed both my sense of social and cultural space, and also was used to foster discussion among students about these issues. It is these maps that I will focus upon in this brief article.

CONTEXT

After a lapse of half a century, the United States has again become a country of immigration. During the 1980s, the United States experienced the largest flow of immigrants since the turn of the last century. This addition of diverse newcomers is transforming community life, recasting relations among groups, ethnic identities and political alliances. It is resulting in profound alteration of the demographic composition of the United States. Immigration is resulting in a numerical and proportional change from what has been the dominance of a white and English speaking majority, to a population of increasing diversity in race, culture and language.

In just a twenty year span, the public school enrollment in California shifted from a population that was 75% white to 40% white. Today, more than a third of the students are limited English speaking and come from homes in which English is not their primary language. Over one fifth were born in another country. In some school districts as many as 85% of the students are limited- or non-English speaking. Well over a hundred different languages are now spoken by the school children of California.

In California, these demographic changes are so evident (especially since the publication of 1990 Census data) that few public policy documents, few political statements--and few school strategic plans--pass without some reference to the broadening diversity. Underlying much of this era's discourse, and threading through many facets of everyday life and practice, is a subtext of fear, anxiety and turmoil over immigration and demographic change. Politicians and "culture-makers" pose new polarities: unity versus diversity, excellence and competitiveness versus equity. Residential separation is increasing. Hate crimes (especially anti-immigrant hate-crimes) are on the rise. The newly increased diversity is not only shifting enrollment in schools, it is stimulating a new social discourse about race and ethnicity, about the identity of the nation itself and the role of schools in mediating and responding to diversity. It is also being enacted in schools where there is intense negotiation occurring over the meaning and response to diversity.

This study is centrally concerned with how racial, cultural and linguistic relations are reproduced and contested, particularly in times of immigration where the conditions seemingly exist to challenge hegemonic relations. As immigrants from all over the world enter the school, the experiences of both newcomer and established residents are shaped by institutional traditions, policies, and the interplay of their own stamps. By looking at the intersections and points at which newcomers are being greeted into the system, a picture emerges of a school at work producing a contemporary form of American racial formation, gender role formation and language imposition. To try to glimpse the emergence of the contemporary response to immigration in schools, I selected one high school in one community for an indepth ethnography.

Madison High School is a typical comprehensive high school in an urban area of California. Its basic structure, textbooks, classroom organization, and social activities are similar to what one might find walking into the vast majority of comprehensive high schools in this country. And yet, Madison is undeniably an urban California school in the 1990s, undergoing tremendous change in student population due to the thrusts of the most powerful immigration wave to ever impact upon the state. For purposes of confidentiality and protection, the name of the city and school and individuals that are the subjects of this ethnography have been changed. For contextual purposes, however, it is important that the ethnographic site

be identified clearly as an urban community in the San Francisco Bay Area of California.

In the middle of this diverse urban area sits Madison High School, one of three comprehensive high schools in Bayview. It enrolls 1,673 students. The school has changed markedly in the past decade from a primarily white working class school student population, to an enrollment that has no single majority ethnic or racial group, speaks 16 different home languages, and is almost one fourth immigrant. In the past seven year period, the number of "limited English proficient" (LEP) students in the school has doubled. Yet the faculty of the school mirrors an older Bayview. Most are white skinned, monolingual English speakers, raised in Bayview. Bayview is their home, and many feel "invaded" by outsiders. Perhaps most marked is the mix of a generalized acceptance (even pride) in the diversity of the community mixed with a resilient denial that the community has changed.

The study was not undertaken simply to understand one school, however. Madison High School offers an illustration of the daily negotiations within the institutional structure and tradition of high schools in this nation that serve as a contemporary version of the long struggles in the United States over responses to immigration and diversity.

THE THREE MAPS OF MADISON HIGH

The story I tell of Madison High is really the story of three seemingly different worlds represented by the immigrant newcomers (identified by other students as "the ESL kids"), the "other" students at Madison High (identified by the immigrant students as "Americans") and the faculty and administration of the school. I didn't start out to investigate these three social categories. Rather, they emerged as I sought to involve students and adults alike in "mapping" the world of the school for me. What I discovered is not just a story of three separate realms of experience or ways of viewing the world. Newcomers, "Americans and teachers inhabit what seems to be three very different worlds, but their maps contest each others' experiences at Madison High, and the discourse among these versions of "reality" provide a very powerful illustration of the silencing and neutralization of what might be a potential multicultural alternative to a narrow mono-cultural model of what it means to be American. In the end, the three seemingly contradictory maps work together.

The School According to the Teachers:

There were two incidents that occurred in the first few days of my research that echoed throughout my research. Both involved meetings with the Principal of Madison High. At an initial lunch meeting with George Pereira, Principal of Madison High, set up to discuss whether he was supportive of me doing research in the school, I rather nervously offered my explanation of what I wanted to study and why I had chosen Madison High. I mentioned the growth of LEP student population at the school to now being 24% -- almost one in four. George interrupted me. "You must be wrong, we've had some growth, but it's nowhere near that high. It's more like maybe 12 or 15%." I was embarrassed that I had my numbers wrong, but went on. Later that day when I got home, I checked my files. Yes, I confirmed the 24%. I called Maria Rodriguez, Director of the Newcomer School in Bayview and a friend, to debrief the lunch, and I told her of the confusion over the percent of LEP students. She exploded: "George should know that, I'm constantly passing along statistics to him, talking to him about the growth of LEP students. It just doesn't register. He refuses to hear it."

I came to look back on that first lunch as an early foreshadowing of the force with which the reality of demographic change is contested and resisted, and the invisibility of immigrant students is perpetuated.

Consistently, the administrators and teachers at Madison view "diversity" as a fact of life, but not something to be focused upon, talked about, addressed, "done" something about. The teachers view the world of students at Madison divided not by race or ethnicity, language or nationality, but primarily by academic achievement level. There are the "college prep" students, the "regular" students", the "skills kids".

Teachers explain these distinctions in terms of individual student abilities and motivation. They tend to view the school as offering options to students, who then become responsible for their own choices and behaviors. Anyone who wanted to, anyone who was willing to work hard, the story goes, could end up in college preparatory classes. The students who are in the skills classes are the ones who don't care about school, don't care about their future, don't try. The students in the top classes are spoken of as "smart" and "motivated".

When asked directly about the racial, ethnic, language or national characteristics of students on campus, most of the teachers speak with some

pride about the overall diversity, but added that they don't "see" skin color or who is what race. I came to understand that this paradigm of a diverse and mixed school in a colorblind system, divided only by virtue of student choice and differential motivation into a hierarchy of academic achievement, holds tremendous power and obscures an entire realm of student experience and the schools' racial project. Yet it is not uncontested. A stark reality defies it. The very categories teachers use in creating the map of the student world have an obscured racial reality. "Skills", "College bound" are not race neutral.

It takes amazing denial to not see the overlap of race and the sorting mechanisms of the school. A look at who graduates and who drops out, and who leaves the school prepared to go on to four year colleges tells a story of an intense racial project at the school. The skin color and language background of a student is closely correlated with the chances of being among those who do cross the stage. At Madison, Latinos and African American students have the slimmest chances of making it through high school.

There are some faculty members who draw the map differently -- who draw different conclusions and offer a different perspective. It is the young, new hires -- the teachers assigned to teach the ESL courses and the sheltered courses for immigrant newcomers. But their perspective, when voiced, appears to be experienced by the others as divisive and naive, and by some as just dead wrong.

The growth in student population in Bayview meant a growth in the teacher force as well. For about a four year period, Madison experienced an increase in new hires of mostly young teachers, hirable at the bottom of the salary structure. Joining a cohesive faculty of older teachers, the newly hired quickly became a distinct social group among the faculty. On the first day I spent at the school, in fact, Pereira gave me a list of faculty to help in contacting people I might wish to interview. He took colored markers and proceeded to code the entire list. One was for teachers who had been at the school for more than five years, one was for new teachers. I didn't understand at the time why this was a salient division -- although I later came to understand it full force.

It is this small group of new teachers that form the advocates on campus for addressing issues of language and culture. They work on the margins of the school program. It's not that the school and district does not boast programs for newcomers. It does have a formal educational program,

the deliberate intervention implemented to "serve" the needs of immigrant and LEP students. In formal policy, court law, and program design, the educational responsibility of schools is to help immigrants become English speaking, and to deliver programs that offer access to the curriculum by addressing the language "barrier". Historically, the mandates to include and to serve immigrant students have emanated from the courts and from the intervention of the federal government. It comes from "outside", and is hardly welcomed in Bayview by most of the administrators and teachers. At Madison, as at most high schools in the state and nation, the issue of what should or must constitute a high school program for LEP students is up for grabs.

Like most high schools in California, Madison High offers a few types of classes to LEP students: English as a Second Language (ESL), a small offering of "sheltered" classes taught in English but especially for LEP students, and selected electives in the mainstream taught in English, such as physical education or music. Instruction in any language other than English is largely resisted. Madison provides a limited number of Sheltered English content classes, and where these aren't available, simply places LEP students in regular mainstream classes with no special support. There are insufficient class openings to accommodate all LEP students in all of the core content classes. And so, most LEP students receive a short schedule of classes. The remainder of the school day is spent in study halls, in additional English-taught elective courses, or in mainstream courses in which they, as the common expression is used, "sink or swim". LEP students may, for example, have math but no science, or science but not math.

At Madison, Principal George Pereira has not provided a sustained leadership voice regarding meeting the needs of immigrant and LEP students. Availability of teachers trained to offer either primary language instruction or Sheltered English academic content instruction to LEP students, and availability of sections and courses for LEP students, is left to individual teacher willingness to provide the courses. The unwillingness of Madison teachers to participate in special training programs greatly limits the secondary LEP programs. If individual teachers do not respond to the offerings of training, there is no mechanism and no pressure applied to

compel or entice them. Even among those few who have the training, many are unwilling to provide the courses.

Few Department Chairs have training or understanding of issues related to race, language and culture, and few feel it is a high priority to ensure that specially designed courses are provided for LEP students. Tension exists between the ESL/Sheltered teachers and the "mainstream" teachers. Some mainstream content area faculty feel that the ESL teachers are trying to "coddle" the LEP students and hold them back. The ESL and sheltered teachers feel that the majority of other content area faculty are refusing to deal with the academic needs of the LEP students. This tension is exacerbated as the principal does not articulate an overall philosophy or vision for the LEP program.

Within each department, teacher assignment to LEP classes is a highly political issue. Teaching the courses is considered voluntary. But overall, seniority and the ability to negotiate within the faculty hierarchy determines who can avoid and who gets assigned "undesirable" courses -- who is pressured to volunteer and who can resist that pressure. Teaching LEP students is low-status work at Madison High. The immigrants are new to Bayview, outsiders. Among faculty who have been in the school for a while, the LEP students are then viewed as the appropriate responsibility for the new "outsider" teachers, for the young, new hires.

As a result of this resistance and belief that not much needs to be done differently, half of the LEP students in the school are not in any classes designed to address their language need. And, those that are appear to be in a system that is separate and still far from offering equal access to the curriculum that their English fluent peers receive. The growth in sheltered English content classes as a "solution" for LEP students has resulted in increasing patterns of separation from English speaking students for almost all of the school day. In an attempt to "protect" LEP students from failure in the mainstream and to provide them with "appropriate schooling" -- and not coincidentally to protect mainstream content area teachers who don't want LEP students in their classes -- LEP students are kept out of the mainstream. The design of the LEP program creates separate "sheltered" (courses for LEP students supposedly taught in methodologies supportive of second language acquisition) classes for LEP students in both ESL and in content areas. However, not all teachers assigned to teach Sheltered classes at Madison have

the training and materials which support such special instructional strategies. And, sheltered classes have come at a high price to students who thrive on being "sheltered" from sometimes hostile American peers, but who pay for the separation in academic and social ways. It is separation without educational benefit.

The formal curriculum separation has not only academic but social prices. The lack of contact with English speaking students may well reduce the motivation and opportunity for students to actually use English. In addition, there is severe social separation between LEP and English speaking students, as well as between students of different language and ethnic groups.

The world of the faculty reproduces the programmatic structure that leaves immigrants at the margins of the school society. The splits that have been co-created between younger and older faculty, and between the ESL/Sheltered Content teachers and the "mainstream" teachers have muted any voices of advocacy that might speak to changing the school structure to embrace the immigrant newcomers.

The young teachers with responsibility for the sheltered and ESL classes have no real structure to support knitting their efforts together programmatically, or from which to address what they perceive as a lack of access for LEP students in the rest of the curriculum.

They do not have departmental status, they have no budget. Instead, they meet voluntarily on Saturdays at one of their houses. They do have however a structure of advocacy behind them. There is Maria Rodriguez, Director of the Districts' Newcomer Center who was always willing to come forth and back them up with bilingual educational theory when needed to try to convince the school to buy materials, or offer a new course needed for LEP students. She brings with her a degree of clout from her role in the district as Bilingual Coordinator. And, there is law. On some large issues, invoking the law and calling upon Rodriguez has worked. But advocacy supports are not sufficient for the daily struggles of the teachers. Their work, they perceive, is not just to push the system to be responsive, but to be the agents of responsiveness in the midst of a system that resists. On a policy level, whether it is trying to affect the course offerings or the practice of other faculty, most battles are lost. Increasingly, the four teachers have given up on those levels and concentrated instead on one to one work with students. This task requires advocacy as well, and has propelled them into areas of

tremendous confusion about what it means to provide guidance at the intersection of cultures, and how to push a school that doesn't want to acknowledge the students are there, much less go out of their way to respond. Every week, the attempts to advocate for their immigrant students bring the four into regular confrontations with the understandings, standard practices and unwritten codes of Madison High.

Meanwhile, the budget crisis in the district makes their positions highly vulnerable to lay-offs. The combination of isolation and battle fatigue as advocates, the job insecurity in their positions, and their own youth eventually scatters the advocates to other places, other districts, other occupations.

The districts' Newcomer Center across the street from Madison offers an alternative vision within the Bayview educational community. It is a place where immigrants receive instruction in their primary language, where family-school relationships are close, and where there is support for bi-culturalism. It also provides a place where those who seek to advocate for more inclusion can openly act upon their knowledge and ideology about supporting the cultures and home languages of their students, and where they can offer their students an environment of support for multiculturalism. But the separation of Newcomer educator advocates from the comprehensive high school campuses -- the very separation that shelters them and their efforts--limits their impact upon the comprehensive schools and marginalizes their important work.

The formal school programmatic world that has been constructed for immigrant students thus institutionalizes fragmentation of realms, and provides only a weak structure of support for students to negotiate the process of becoming "American". The comprehensive high schools proceed with the task of creating monolingual English speaking Americans, and maintain silence on the racial sorting that their practices perpetuate.

<u>The Map of Madison High According to the Newcomers</u>:

The social world of Madison High as described and mapped by the newcomer immigrant students is explicitly inhabited by people of different national and language identities: Americans, Chinese, Vietnamese, Mexican, Spanish speakers, English speakers, etc. The journey they perceive they need to make is to cross-over into the English speaking world in order to become

Americans. They discover only in the process of that journey, that as immigrants from Third World nations, they need to undergo a baptism of racialization into subordinated positions in the United States racial scheme. As young newcomers get to understand their new land, the labels they use to speak of their world (the labels of national identity, of the language spoken, religion and skin color) become intertwined, in a fundamental definition of being "American" or not.

The actual locations that immigrant students place different groups within their school "maps"-- in terms of proximity to the center or the margins of the campus--becomes symbolic of relations to school life itself. On their own maps, most immigrant groups draw themselves in clusters on the edges of the campus, close to the Newcomer Center, or inside or close by the classrooms of their sheltered teachers. The map done by students in the sheltered class includes great detail and many categories for immigrant students: "Indian girls" are drawn by a tree on the edge of campus; "Mexican boys that haven't been here too long" are identified by proximity to a fence. In the eyes of these newcomers, girls cluster differently than boys, and within these categories were more detailed gender distinctions such as: "the Chinese girls group" or "the Hong Kong group of boys". Over and over in discussions of the maps, newcomers spoke of "same religion", "same language", "same culture" and "same nationality" as the ways in students cluster. In contrast to these detailed descriptions about the various clusters of newcomers, immigrant students offered only three categories for the rest of the social campus: "Americans", "Mexicans", and "Blacks". "American" is synonymous with "white", and Blacks exist as the only clear racialized category in their minds.

The perspective from which newcomer students observe, learn about, begin to interact with "America" is from the sidelines. Attending half the day of school at the Newcomer Center site across the street from Madison High, and the other half of the day in ESL classes grouped with other immigrants at Madison, it is a view from afar, a view from the margins of the life of the school. From there, newcomers construct what it means to be "American" and where they fit into the structures of American life. They perceive many paths to and aspects of becoming "American", but they all involve becoming English speaking. The struggle to learn English is core in the immigrant student's experience as a fundamental requirement for

acceptance and participation in an English taught curriculum and English dominant social world. Teachers, immigrant students, and native U.S. born students alike, all agree to this. Almost the entire school collaborates in a pattern of pushing newcomers into becoming part of a monolingual English speaking world.

I once asked Mandy, an immigrant from Taiwan, "Are there ways in which you feel American?" She answered emphatically, "Of course not! If you do not speak the English right, you cannot be American." In the initial understanding of newcomers, becoming English speaking is the same as becoming American. It therefore becomes is one of the most central issues in their lives.

And, learning English is not easy. The prevalent attitudes of most English-speakers they encounter is far from accepting of accented and flawed English. Exclusion towards students whose English is not fluent is prevalent. Certainly, the affective environment is far from the "safe" one that linguist Stephen Krashen argues is necessary for language acquisition. Every day, immigrant students are laughed at for incorrect English and teased for heavy accents. They struggle to negotiate their way and particularly suffer when they do not understand and do not feel free to ask for clarifications of English. They are in many ways suffering from "language shock", exacerbated by the limits on the opportunities to learn and practice English. For most of the students I interviewed, one of the transitions they make as they move from home to school, is the switch in language environments. Their families are not English speaking. The world of school is English speaking. Even if students were to choose to develop their home languages, there is no programmatic support for that task. The institutional arrangements at Madison High provide insufficient English language development and prevent access to a full academic core curriculum.

Of course Madison, like most high schools in California, has an English as a Second Language (ESL) program. The newly arrived immigrants begin their ESL sequence with the lower level ESL classes taught at the Newcomer Center. They continue when they achieve intermediate levels of English fluency in higher level ESL classes taught on site at Madison High. Together, the Newcomer Center and Madison provide a comparatively good, strong ESL sequence that compares well to other high school ESL programs in California. But although the school provides five periods of ESL levels 4 and

5, the school needs far more sections than are currently offered. In addition to the needed ESL classes, the school is short of bilingual teachers who might make academic course content comprehensible and accessible to the LEP population while they are in the process of learning English more fully.

With all the focus on and anxiety about immigrants' learning English, few appear to recognize that the school program mitigates against this goal. Placed in special classes designed to address their lack of English proficiency, immigrant students are separated from English speaking peers. As a result, their access to learning the language and becoming part of the English speaking world is severely constrained. Put down for use of their mother tongues, and with no supports for continued development of their home languages, immigrant students not only fail to develop literacy in their native language, but begin to lose it. With that loss, they also sever ties to their families and homeland cultures.

In addition to receiving insufficient formal English language development, immigrant students at Madison are placed in many academic classes that do not address their needs for comprehensible instruction. They regularly express frustration about not having the English needed to really participate and comprehend what is happening formally in these classes. There are no bilingual classes at Madison, and only the ESL class and the Newcomer Center provide a space where they can sometimes speak in their native tongues. Socially, their native tongue would be the language of choice, but the proximity of English peaking students, and the far of being overheard and laughed at is a deterrent to using it more often. The result is that Madison is a world in which those who are not English speaking are precluded from learning the English that they know full well is necessary for acceptance and success in U.S. society.

In addition to the Newcomer Center, there are some shelters found by some newcomer groups at Madison High. Dorothy Meyer's ESL classroom is a place where the Indian girls can hang out during lunch. They can speak their language, they can listen to their music away from the sting of being laughed at by American English speaking students.

In these classrooms, in the Newcomer Center, the students appear to appreciate the ease of not having to monitor the language they use, of being free to use whichever language makes things most comprehensible, and of being free from harassment. Nonetheless, they abandon their mother

tongues relatively quickly, becoming English seekers and English preferers. The students seem immune to the messages that adults at the Newcomer Center attempt to get across that bilingualism is an asset and is something students should strive for. It appears that very few immigrant students put any premium or value upon continuing to develop their native tongue. They appear to be aware of the pain and difficulty of standing between two languages and most respond to that pain by emphasizing a transition to English and leaving behind their mother tongue.

The discomfort of being "outside", the dis-ease of not having the words to express themselves, the frustration with being laughed at for use of their native tongues, all result in a determination of most immigrant students to try to learn English as quickly as possible. There seems to be no hint of newcomer students judging each other for having "crossed a line" as they become English speakers, or chastised for forgetting who they are when they drop using their home language. The transition to monolingual English speaking is an uncontested passage in becoming "American". It also appears to be the one aspect of becoming American that immigrants continue to believe they can achieve without question. The intense desire to be accepted and to be able to participate in their new land results for almost all newcomers in becoming English speaking relatively quickly. The process also for most, appears to result in losing some measure of their mother tongue.

As they become English speaking, immigrants do participate more and more in the social world of Madison High. But the level of English speaking required for social participation is not sufficient for academic participation in high school courses taught only in English. Thus, newcomers do become English speakers but not necessarily full English participants in the academic system. Is this sufficient to make them accepted as Americans? With all of the overt and conscious focus upon English as the dividing line between foreigners and Americans, between "them" and "us", it turns out that in the life at Madison High a complex weave of other transitions and changes are expected and required for citizenship in the world of Madison High. And as newcomers face them, they learn to begin to question their original assumption that if they learn English and work hard, they will make it. And listening even briefly to conversations among newcomers about becoming American immediately illustrates the tight connection in their minds between race, religion and language as inextricable and often

interchangeable identifiers that mark one as American or not American. For newcomers, the persistent question is whether or not the path to being American is one that is really open to them.

> "The rest (other than the white and Black students) are not real Americans. But the immigrants, most of us mostly wish to be American and try. And they become more and more like Americans. And they want to hang out with kids who are more American. But you can never really get there. We can speak English, we can wear the clothes. But we aren't the right religion, we aren't the same. You can't really get there. Not unless you change who you are."

Over and over in interviews with students, and overhearing their comments and conversations, I was struck by the depth of feeling as newcomers tried to weigh which direction they could and should head in facing the problem of being American. The sense of being caught in the middle, and the attendant vulnerability, is pervasive. It is made more complex because the "sides" are sometimes defined in terms of nationality, other times in terms of culture, still other times in terms of religion or race or language. Which lines are crossable and which are not? For some the barrier feels particularly insurmountable because of skin color; for others it is religion or language or the "open" behavior of American teens. But there is surprising clarity and agreement that to be American is to be English speaking, white skinned and Christian. And there is little tenable ground for holding onto multiculture.

The Map of Madison High According to the "American" Students

The world inhabited by the "American" student at Madison High is every bit as intensely involved with "finding one's place" as the immigrant world, but the arenas are not about being American, they are about "race". The maps these students drew for the "mapping" social studies assignment were almost wholly racialized: almost every social group labeled either by a racial identifier or the category "mixed race". The descriptions they created for the school overall were largely American ethnic and racial categories, attended by great detail about the performative behaviors, activities and common interests that mark these categories or distinguish sub-groups. The only exceptions were two related to school activities ("band kids" and

"basketball players"), and a single undifferentiated group of "ESLers", a label referring to newcomers by their programmatic placement in English as a Second Language classes.

The Quad is the one area of campus identified to be the turf of groups that mix across races. It is interesting that attached to these groups are terms like: "normal", "accepting", "don't stand out", and "don't stand for anything". In fact, the Quad is a rather large area and quite crowded. Architecturally, it is the heart of the campus, and it is widely acknowledged as an area of social mixing across the groups. Yet it commands very little attention as students get into discussions about how they would map the world of the school socially. While they acknowledge that there are some social arenas of the school life that are "pretty accepting and friendly". But what holds their attention, what they feel is salient in describing the dimensions of social life are the separations, the differences of race and ethnicity.

One's social capital at Madison High is measured and conferred in terms of racial identity. Crossing the line socially and in the style one adopts (dress, behavior, language) is heavily monitored. It is not that students don't cross lines to have friends of different racial groups. In fact, there are many mixed-race friendship groups. But such mixing is noticed, commented upon, and tempered by a lively discourse among peers. Students talk pretty unanimously of the tension in the racial choices of who their friends are, how they dress, and the racial appropriateness of those choices. For students of color there is little that is as hurtful or as threatening to their sense of identity as being labeled: "white-washed". "White washed" in their terminology appears to refer to talking white, acting white, wishing you were white, getting good grades or "being in good" with the teachers. To many students, such behavior is felt as disloyal or "forgetting who you are".

For students who lean toward grouping with another group which is "of color", the monitoring term is: "wannabees". This term is used often for both individuals and groups, e.g., "those girls who smoke cigarettes and hang out near C Hall are a bunch of Latin wannabees." These words have power. They evoke issues of loyalty, authenticity, resistance and fear. Conversely, "finding your place" and "staying with your own group" are viewed generally by students as positive values.

The sixth period "regular" history class argued at length in examining these issues about whether the campus primarily features mixed race friendship groups with a few groups who keep to themselves, or whether it is a wholly racialized campus of permanently separate groups, with a few kids who mix. There was enormous tension in the discussion, and clearly heavy investment for students regarding how they might choose to view their school's social climate. Is it divided by race? Is it a mixed campus? Is it happily diverse? Is it tense and hostile? Is it all of these things?

After a lot of discussion, the consensus seemed to be that the social life of the school was about groups isolating themselves by race. The students viewed the sharpest conflicts to be between the Mexicans and Blacks, most heavily expressed through verbal exchanges and occasional fights.

Meanwhile, most of the social maps drawn by the "American" classes simply did not mention the newcomer groups on campus. Two did put "ESL kids" on their maps as a single undifferentiated category. When the absence of the immigrant students on the "American" students maps was mentioned to the "regular" history class, and the two maps were compared, the 6th period students acknowledged that immigrants are indeed present in the school, and should be on the map. "We just didn't think of them", the group said, and proceeded to amend their map with: "ESLers hang out over by the edge of campus near the Newcomer Center." The category they used was a single "ESL" label, echoing the basic truth that newcomers are seen primarily in terms of their lack of English speaking ability. As one student said in commenting on student life in general at the school: "Ya gotta find your race and take your place" -- an exact description of the requirement facing newcomers in order to become part of the "map" of the school.

Implications of the Maps

The world immigrants are entering is engaged in a major project that slates them and others into positions in the U.S. racial hierarchy. For "American" students, speaking English" and being "American" are simply taken for granted. Instead, they struggle with perpetuate a world steeped in racial meaning, and full of divisions which are monitored carefully through a process that includes labeling and judging each other as "wannabees" or "white-washed", "knowing who you are" or "forgetting who you are". And

while students are engaged in trying to negotiate either the terrain of nationality which newcomers confront, or the terrain of raciality which "Americans confront, none of this appeared in the map teachers drew of the world at Madison High. The teachers' maps were concerned instead with academic relationships: "college prep kids", "skills kids", "regular kids".

All three of these maps have an institutional reality. The separation of immigrants from "Americans" which is viewed by newcomers as the salient division of life at Madison High is institutionalized through the creation of sheltered content and ESL classes. The highly racialized world of the "American" student is not only descriptive of the way students group during their free time on campus, but also reflects to some degree a racial hierarchy in placement in academic levels in the school. There are unique perceptions and understandings, and blindness and silences on each map. The teachers "see" the sorting of students into academic levels, but not the racial project implicated in who is placed in those levels. Most are blind to the racial and national and language divisions so central and salient to the students. The immigrants perceive Americans as obsessive in insisting that newcomers give up their national identities and languages to fit into a mono-lingual and mono-national American identity. The map the "American" students inhabit more closely acknowledges the racializing process of the school, the invisibility of the newcomers, and the penetrating ideology of meritocracy.

As newcomers become aware that fluency in English is not the only requirement for being accepted in their new land, they experience pressures to locate themselves on the "racial map" of Madison High. This means figuring out the peculiar meanings of racial categories in the United States and doing so while these categories are the focus of intense negotiation among American teens. It is one of the crucial steps in Americanization to be socialized into the racial categories and processes of racial formation that underlie our national patterns.

The categories are constituted through a limited set of skin color demarcations, and sets of behaviors and alliances. Black and white are understood as the two basic American races in the eyes of the students at Madison High, with brown and yellow completing the spectrum. In some places, red would also be named, but at Madison in the early 1990s, "red" is invisible". The four categories prevail, despite the fact that there are also

many mixed-race students at Madison, and the majority of the immigrants don't fit well into this racial schema. Theoretically, the presence of mixed-race and immigrant students are conditions that might erode the racial meanings of the system. And, in the amount of concern expressed by newcomers about not understanding where they fit, and feeling discomfort about making themselves fit, there is in fact a counter-discourse with respect to the racial categories. They would in fact prefer an identity system that acknowledges more complexity and more fully their national backgrounds.

But it is highly unsettling to hold to this counter-discourse, for not to be able to define one's race is to not really exist on the social map of the non-newcomers. There are few categories on the non-newcomer social map that were not racially explicit. And to figure out where one belongs, where one is "supposed to be", or where one chooses to align, is tricky. Is someone a "real Latino" or a "white-washed Mexican"? Is a person a "wannabee Black" or a "real Black"? These questions haunt the social system of peer relationships at Madison; students engage in an explicit discussion about authenticity as they work to understand and then to monitor the racial system. Figuring out where people belong in this racialized system is not just a matter of skin color.

The invisibility and non-status of immigrant newcomers presents both a mini-crisis of identity for themselves, as well as for others who do not know how to "place" them. One sheltering aspect of clustering together with other immigrants is permission to avoid being racialized at least for a while.[1]

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[1] This phenomenon is reported in the literature on racial formation in general. Winant writes:

> "Well over a century since the abolition of racial slavery, and long after stable territorial boundaries were established through conquest, concepts of race remain deeply embedded in every institution, every relationship, every psyche. This is true not only of such large-scale, macro-social relationships as the distribution of wealth or income, or segregation in housing and education, but also of small scale micro-level relationships. Identity itself is, so to speak, color coded. Indeed when one meets a person who is difficult to classify racially, the result is often a mini-crisis of identity; not knowing to what race someone belongs is like not knowing to what sex the person belongs. For better or for worse, without a clear racial identity, a North American is in danger of having no identity." (Winant, pg. 2-3)

Most of the newcomers I studied appeared to resist the process of racialization into large broad racial categories. To them, Americanization into these categories, and the abandonment of hope that others will see and accept them in their full national, religious and language identities is like an annihilation of self. Some choose marginality as a means of resistance. They choose to remain off the social map, to remain "foreign", and not give in to racial categories.

But within two years very few of the students followed in this research had maintained this stance. Their peers, their teachers, society's inability to see and understand the distinctions in identity they themselves would make (e.g., Guatemalan as compared to Mexican as compared to Salvadoran) pull them into a pan-national, pan-ethnic racial category of Latino or brown. And the schema makes only a slim allowance for newcomers to be non-racialized. They can be simply "newcomers", "ESL ers". But there is impatience about how long you can remain there. Newcomers themselves begin to understand the high price of invisibility--of remaining outside in a no-mans land of non-being. The requirement of racial identification is very strong.

For most newcomers, whatever their choices regarding social accommodation, they appeared to include acceptance of a particular place in the racial hierarchy of the United States. And, regardless of the time frame, for certain racial groups the process appears to be accompanied by giving up their immigrant belief in the "American dream" that hard work will pay off in academic success and mobility.

Part of that negotiation is learning to not openly speak of or acknowledge the process. Generally, this system seems to maintain itself relatively undisturbed. The administrators, teachers and students alike speak about the relative peace and calm of intergroup relations on campus. Immigrants themselves learn to acknowledge the "diversity" as an overall fact, but not the tension or sorting or intense monitoring that occurs.

Making a place for oneself, finding one's race, are central to student life at Madison. Newcomer students develop conscious skills for interaction, careful ways of behaving, and habits of monitoring their own and each others behavior as they engage in this process. Some protest along the way, and balk at the switch identity from a national identity to a racial one, but these

protests don't seem to gain any support. Perhaps it is because these social processes alone do not explain the racial imperative and separation at the school. The process of identification and separation is not solely conducted by the students acting upon each other. They reflect an overt politics in the larger community, and the specific though "unseen" racial project of the school program, which segregates, excludes and discriminates. This is an overt manifestation of a racial project at the school. But it is heavily denied and hidden. The newcomer students only see the social process among peers, and don't seem to recognize the big picture that these social groupings are part and parcel to the hierarchy academically and in the world. Their belief in individual effort clouds their ability to see the racial project of the school.

The separateness of racial and ethnic groups is usually peaceful at Madison High, at least on the surface. Most remain in their own groups, are careful not to "ruffle the feathers" of other groups. And those who choose to mix do so in their own section of the school. The system is kept in place not by open hostilities or threats or the physical protection of turf through intimidation, but by a system of pressures on individuals to place themselves and stay placed.

The recently-arrived versus the settled-in immigrants versus the native borns is a tension described by students in each group. The tension is couched in terms of intense competition, a sense of eroding opportunities, and of being crowded and invaded by others who have an unfair advantage. Many white native U.S. born students feel that "immigrants are given everything"; many U.S.-born Latinos feel that newly arrived immigrants are pulling them down. One lesson from the three maps is that the charges and countercharges, the views of the "others" on each map, revolve partially around some relationships to academic success as definers of "place" at Madison High.

There is not an easy co-existence of these three versions of the world. Each has the potential of contesting and unseating the others. While the adults may not be comfortable acknowledging or speaking about matters of "race", "American" students hold to an almost entirely racialized view of their school, and immigrant students identify issues of race as one of the confusing and difficult arenas of adjusting to life and finding their place on the map at Madison High, but view the journey as one primarily of a switch

in language. These are not equally powerful versions in the life of the school at Madison. And clear evidence of this, is that most of the work of needing to understand and adjust to the other maps is being done by the immigrant newcomers.

Stepping back, the end product of the three maps is actually a closely knit social system in which conforming to American racial categories and giving up distinct national and non-English language identities and groupings is necessary to be recognized as part of the school. Furthermore, the process requires that students learn to deny the existence of the racial project, of the cultural denial and the language loss. For newcomers, this entire process of confronting "America", and coming to understand what is required of them, consumes them during the time they are still 'invisible" on the social maps of the school. The processes they devise to negotiate their way through this terrain, losing as little as possible, and gaining as much recognition and place in "America" as they can, has a lot to do with the amount of lee-way provided them in areas of taking on adult gender roles, and making what choices are available to them in the racialization process.

CONCLUSION: THE AMERICANIZATION PROJECT OF THE SCHOOL

The task and the role of the high school in relation to immigrants has shifted in each era of major immigration. Two hundred years ago, common schools sought to bring poor Catholic Irish immigrants into the fold of white Protestant New England, all the while proceeding with their project of racial exclusion. One hundred years later, under the pressures of an Eastern European immigration wave, the high school developed into a factory model, sorting its populace into tracks leading to different futures. Academic placement was ostensibly determined by individual ability and effort, but managed to limit most immigrants to schooling leading to factory and industrial labor. Now, almost one hundred years since that last great wave of immigration, this study describes the new Americanization project of the schools. It is a project richly illustrated by the three maps of Madison High. There are three components of this process: the marginalization and separation of immigrant students academically; the requirement of becoming English speaking and dropping one's native language in order to participate in the academic and social life of the high school; and insistent pressures to find and take one's place in the racial hierarchy of the United States.

Exclusion and Separation of Immigrant Students Academically:

Separation and exclusion occur due to a lack of capacity and will to serve newcomers. Thus, immigrant students are either separated into inadequately supported classes where they do not have access to English speaking peers or friends and are taught by less experienced and inadequately supported teachers, or they are placed in "mainstream" classes which do not address their needs and which doom them to academic failure and loss of access to the academic program. With insufficient English language development and insufficient access to the curriculum in a language they can understated, most immigrant students are (through the forces of schooling) denied equal access to an education.

Pressures to Give Up One's National Identities and Language:

Immigrants learn that to become English speaking is not sufficient for membership in this new society. They must cease using their mother tongue in public places, and must give up their national identities as a condition of being accepted as "American". Immigrants face what feels to them to be polar choices between being accepted by becoming as American as possible (which includes becoming racialized into the lower echelons of an American hierarchy, and giving up their own nation and language identities) versus remaining marginalized and holding to their traditional cultural forms (national identity, home language and home culture). The middle ground of multi-cultural identities is intensely uncomfortable, for they find little support either in their home or school worlds for simultaneously embracing both. Their experiences examining and then determining their relationship to nationality and mother tongue occupies center stage during the early years of the immigrant experience.

Taking One's Place in the Racial Hierarchy of the United States:

Newcomers group together with others of their same religion and language in what becomes social shelter from the exclusion and hostility of United States born peers who laugh at their accents and foreign ways. The journey immigrants understand they must make as a condition of acceptance in this new land, is to become English speakers. They assume at first that the language is synonymous with becoming American. But they discover a

different reality. As they become more English speaking, they participate more and more in the social world of the high school and discover they have to learn and find a place in the racialized structures of the school. What they do not yet understand, is that these racialized places also have implications for the paths that are open to them academically. As students become Americanized, they begin to group more like their native American peers: racially.

In all of three of these elements of the Americanization process, the slots waiting for newcomers are positions of only partial acceptance. As they adopt the English language as their sole language, they are not given sufficient tools or access to develop the levels of English really required for full participation and inclusion. Giving up one's native language for the sake of learning English and being accepted has a high price in loss of strong family connection and access to one's history. Furthermore, giving up one's national identities to become American is a one way journey. The places they are to take in the racial hierarchy are largely at the bottom. There is no going back for immigrant youth, although their new nation makes the message clear that it is not at all sure it wants them here.

The world of Madison High is an enormously complex social system. Newcomer immigrants, living at the margins of the school, are focused upon negotiating that journey from foreign nationality to "American", viewing that journey primarily in terms of learning English. They learn, however, that the conditions for acceptance and participation in American life include not only dropping their native language and adopting English, but dropping their national identities to become American, and leaving behind the immigrant dream that school success is the path to economic mobility and the product of individual effort. The experiences of "American" students center fundamentally around race, as they engage in an intense process of racial sorting and categorization. And the teachers? As we saw, they remain largely oblivious to the day to day intense maneuvering of their students over issues of racial identity. Their world is one defined by academic program and tracks. "American" students and teachers collude in establishing the criteria of English fluency for participation in their school world. And so English becomes the measure of de-nationalization and the explicitly acknowledged path to citizenship and participation. To the degree people hold onto this notion, it denies the reality that students see so clearly, that

taking one's place in the racial order is the measure of arrival on the American map. The racial project of the school becomes obscured behind the ideology of diversity and the focus upon learning English as the only barrier to participation.

While each of these maps are remarkably different, they work together in a kind of seamless web of Americanization and racialization. While immigrants are engaged in trying to understand and negotiate the racialization and Americanization processes, they also become instructed in practices of the racial and assimilation project. These are practices which demand compliance how they group and behavior and speak, but which requires silence and denial that these pressures occur. They learn quickly to collude in the imposition of silence about racialization.

As Madison High illustrated, there is actually a closely knit social system in which conforming to American racial categories and solely to an American national and English language identity is necessary to be recognized as part of the fabric of the school world. This system furthermore attempts to enlist students and teachers together in denying the existence of exclusion, racism, and of the pain of culture and language loss. It is a silence fed by fear that to notice and acknowledge the tracking and separation and enforced losses would be to open doors to violence. The school and community in one breath, then, speaks in celebration of it's cultural diversity for its own sake, is involved in an intense racial and Americanization process, and denies issues of racial separation, cultural power and politics at all costs. This is the racialized Americanization of the 1990s.

Resistance Exists, but it is Marginalized and Contained:

These painful patterns don't occur uncontested. There is active resistance on many levels. As I described, a small number of young teachers at Madison High together with advocates from the Newcomer Center attempt to raise the visibility of immigrant students and bring attention to the patterns of exclusion and denial of participation that occur at the school. They work hard to provide what support and access they can for their newcomer students, often locking in battle with formal policies and informal practices and persistent attitudes of the majority of people at the school. A new Latino student movement calls for recognition and respect for their culture and language. Political movements for language rights, immigrant

rights, bilingual education, and for racial justice continue to use the courts and engage in an active public discourse to try to win the conditions for full inclusion and acceptance of immigrants.

We have witnessed, however, through the story of Madison High School, the process by which these various impulses of resistance and the voices of advocacy for a multicultural model of society, and the forces which would craft new educational and social approaches affirming the languages, cultures and inclusion of immigrant students, are marginalized and contained.

And so, on the programmatic level, the administrators at Madison and in the district do not recognize or take responsibility for the need to make accommodations to serve immigrant students, leaving the problem of how best to serve LEP students to the daily push and pull of negotiations between the staff of the Newcomer Center and the staff of the comprehensive high school, and to the daily interactions between those young and marginalized teachers who view themselves as advocates for immigrant students and those who may be uninterested, unfocused or unwilling to take on these concerns.

Because the advocates at Madison tend to be the young and more recently hired teachers, they are marginalized. Their concerns are undermined and personalized. The young teachers who struggle to hold together a program and serve as immigrant advocates cannot mount the clout needed to hold the rest of the school accountable for meeting the needs of their students. The vision of schools as places that support a multiculture that they represent is thus never viewed as a serious alternative.

The grim reality is that newcomer students who do not speak English are tracked, separated, provided with inadequate materials and poorly trained teachers, and are denied access to core content areas. As they become more Americanized, they continue to be tracked and ill served in patterns relating to their race and home language. Despite the existence of the Newcomer Center as an explicit force in the district to provide an empowering, additive multicultural force for immigrants, and despite a program of sheltered instruction offered by committed advocate teachers, these are neutralized.

AN AFTERWORD:

Madison High School in California is not an aberration. The patterns of exclusion and silence about exclusion that were evident in Bayview were

not created whole-cloth by the individuals in that community. They live in a historical and political context that shaped much of what they had to work with. And, the ideology of colorblindness and the ways of thinking that support not serving immigrants well are reflected even in the cutting edge discourse of school reform. People in Bayview schools who espouse resistance to addressing the specific needs of immigrant students, and who so energetically deny the racial projects of the school, are bolstered by voices in the professional leadership of education as well as by the political and social discourse surrounding schools. As long as the larger discourse continues to legitimize and to obscure the project of Americanization, exclusion and racialization, the Madison High Schools of this nation will continue to play out those patterns. Therefore, it becomes essential to both break the silences in the larger framework, and develop a critique that identifies where and how that framework serves as an instrument of exclusion.

I believe that the people at Madison High would be surprised to read this analysis and view themselves as aligned with the forces in this society which serve to exclude immigrants and children of color. Most teachers and administrators at Madison High choose to view themselves as believers and enforcers of civil rights, and fighters against prejudice. But their actions perpetuate an opposite effect. And those who struggle to pose an alternative view, and to be the creators of a more open and more fully multicultural society are still too few in numbers to provide a viable alternative vision and direction for the schools.

What occurs at Madison High, and the discourse within the school reform movement reflect broader social relations. The disabling effects and apparent direction of programs in schools reflect power relationships in both the social and economic systems of the broader society. Our labor market benefits from an immigrant class that is not fully literate and only partially assimilated. There are segments of our society which resent the use of scarce resources in a recessionary economy to meet the special needs of language minority children. Our high school programs are mechanisms for reproducing and reinforcing these larger societal patterns of dominance, and they are key institutions for determining who will get what in this society. Immigrants (and particularly the undocumented) fill a particular niche in the lowest paid and least protected rungs of our labor market. They are convenient targets for exclusionary public policy and political rhetoric.

Spener [1988], Skutnabb-Kangas [1981] and Ogbu [1978] would all argue that the power of these economic arrangements deeply affect the institutional arrangements of immigrants and children of color within schools. The program and dynamics at Madison High, which so thoroughly marginalize immigrants and leaves them neither prepared to join a mainstream English speaking America nor allows them to maintain and hold their native tongues and traditions, reinforces stereotypes about immigrants, and socially legitimizes limited access to job mobility.

An overtly exclusionary backlash against immigrants emerged only as I was finishing this research. But it's seeds were evident on the local level throughout the period I conducted this research. At Madison High, the seeds of anti-immigrant backlash were there in the anger and confusion of the non-newcomer students aimed at newcomers, in the efforts of the immigrants who arrived in years past to distance themselves from the newcomers who are the brunt of the backlash, in the expressions of long-term teachers in the district who resented the pressure and expectation that they should change what they do in order to better serve immigrant students.

In the past few years, as anti-immigration forces grew in California, and a backlash intensified against bilingual education and language rights, there was less and less support within the school district for a programmatic approach based upon "language". State and federal law (and the constant threat of potential lawsuits for failure to comply) continued to require that a program for LEP students be delivered, but the support, leadership and resources devoted to implementing such a program began to be withdrawn. In the past few months, a ballot initiative called Proposition 187 passed in California by a 2:1 margin. It is an initiative that seeks to exclude undocumented immigrants from public health care and public education services. It rode to victory in a frenzy of frustration captured by Governor Pete Wilson's analysis that an invasion of immigrants were the cause of the state's economic and social and cultural woes.

Yet there can be no simple conclusions about the direction our state and nation will take. It is still undetermined whether this will be an era in which the United States will turn towards increased disparities between groups and increased exclusion, or pull together those forces for inclusion and write a proud new chapter in the history of the struggle of e pluribus unum. But at Madison High, in Bayview,

the mood among advocates became increasingly depressed and less hopeful in the two years of my research.

Stories don't start and end where the researcher enters and exits. This story is only another chapter in the long struggle. The story of Madison High and Bayview, California is a story about the dynamics of our time, our state, our nation. And you and I stand in the web as surely as they do. There can be no neat and tidy ending. Only the shivers of fear in indications of increasing exclusion, and the glimmers of hope in the possibilities of continued resistance.